The Commonweal

WEEK BY WEEK

China and the UN

THE supplanting of the Chinese Nationalists by Chinese Communists in the UN would entail a number of unhappy consequences. When votes were taken in committees, in the Assembly and in the Security Council, a friendly vote would be supplanted by an enemy one. There would be one more major member able to exercise the veto and to engage in obstructionist tactics at Russia's command. As a result the possibilities of concrete accomplishment by that body would be that much lessened.

Moreover, up to now, two of the leading arguments for admitting the Mao regime (and expelling from membership the Chiang regime as not actually representing the Chinese people) seem highly spurious. The first is that it would alienate the other Asiatic peoples not to give Mao full encouragement and recognition. As if these peoples, whatever their diffidence about Communism, were not aware and fearful of Russian imperialism in its newest and most virulent form!

The other illusion, which must assuredly go back to now-deflated State Department dreams about Chinese agrarian reformers, is that Mao is a potential Tito. On the assumption that this is the case, the argument goes, we must wean him away from his Moscow tutelage by a conciliatory (appeasing) policy. For one thing, then, we should support the Chinese Communists' admission to membership in the United Nations. All this in the face of Mao's basically Moscow background, his consistently loyal Stalinism and his recent declaration of solidarity with the North Korean Communists.

Strange it is at the very moment that our armed forces in the Far East are beginning to build up and demonstrate their strength, that we should again be discussing ways and means of throwing away some of the fruits of a military victory which has been dearly purchased. If ever we were in a position to stand firm at the conference table the time would seem to be right now.

The other side of the medal indicates the extreme unlikelihood for a number of years that the Mao regime, however it came to power, can be displaced in a land worn out by twenty years of uninterrupted warfare. The Mao regime bids fair to be the *de facto* Chinese government for years to come—and as such the only tangible representative of the Chinese people.

If the UN were conceived merely as a meeting ground for face to face discussions, the advisability of immediate admission of the Chinese Communists would be considerably more compelling. Even then the Russian delegation could well serve as their spokesman. If the UN, however, is to be something more, as it now promises to be under the impetus of its Korean stand, it would be primarily an association of sovereign nations seeking to defend international justice, prevent aggression and supplant war as a means of resolving differences between nations. Would the immediate presence of the Chinese Communists further such UN objectives? Russian membership so far has possibly postponed if not actually averted open war with the United States. Does that imply that the presence of additional Russian agents there would be an acquisition?

AT THE moment a heavy majority of the UN membership is opposed to the admission of the Mao government. The proposal that the legitimacy of his government be thoroughly investigated has also been entertained. But meanwhile rumor has it that UN membership, if not ultimate possession of Formosa, is to be held out to Mao as a reward if he will not intervene directly in Korea or try to take Formosa by storm.

The policy of concentrating our armed strength in Europe is one that makes sense at this juncture. And that means not getting involved in a major war in the Far East. It seems hardly likely that the Mao regime can be barred from the UN in-

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• THIS WEEK •

Week by Week 619

And Who Is My Neighbor?
by George H. Dunne 623

Church-State: Some Overlooked History
by Harmon Ashley, Jr. 625

Reaction to the Encyclical
by Robert Barrat 628

The Stage
by Walter Kerr 630

The Screen
by Philip T. Hartung 631

Of Note 633

Books 634

Editor: Edward S. Skillin
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John C. Cort, Anne Fremantle, Francis Downing
Cinema: Philip T. Hartung
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• NEXT WEEK •

RICHARD M. WEAVER reviews Herbert Feis' *The Road to Pearl Harbor.*

"When two powers find their policies irreconcilable, they go on the defensive. This sounds innocent enough until one begins to examine the nature and content of defense . . . the best defense is a good offense. But under the new code of international ethics, an offense is a crime. Now if the best offense is a crime, it follows that the best defense is a crime. This dilemma faced Japan in 1940-41 and will continue to face all those who toy with the notion of a preventive war."

definitely. But why should the United States despite its new-found strength do anything to hasten such a day?

Controls

MARXIST Communism is more than idea—it is a set of beliefs incarnated in the Soviet Union. The ideas behind Russian Communism and those that move American democracy are strikingly antithetical. So there is all the difference in the world between life in the United States of America and in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

But when the members of the 81st Congress went back home after their long and tough session on Capitol Hill, the differences between the two countries were not as great as they had been. It would surely be an exaggeration to say that the gentlemen of Congress had doused the lights of American freedom. Yet in their blind anger against the forces of world Communism, they did take a step down the road that leads to the totalitarian darkness. And that must be a matter for regret.

Before the Congressmen finally boarded the trains and planes carrying them to their homes in the forty-eight states, they left behind them, as the law of the land, H.R. 9490, the Internal Security Act of 1950. As President Truman said when he vetoed the Act, H.R. 9490, despite the sincere intention to draw up a drastic Communist-control law, is more pro- than anti-Communist.

There is no free exchange of ideas in Soviet Russia. Invariably the heretic is harassed, hounded and eventually eliminated with cool, cruel efficiency. That is one application of the Leninist philosophy. In the US, of course, we have a different notion about freedom of thought. We are more afraid of the suppression of ideas than of their public expression.

H.R. 9490 provides in Section 22 that we will henceforth exclude from our country anyone who advocates any form of totalitarian government or one-party system — whether he be Russian agent, Yugoslav functionary, Argentine naval officer, Portuguese professor or Spanish Jesuit.

There is no freedom of the press in Russia. Books, magazines, newspapers, pamphlets, whatever is critical of the Soviet regime, are ruthlessly suppressed. This too is part-and-parcel of the system most of us despise.

H.R. 9490 provides that the Attorney General is required to deport aliens in any way associated

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with publishing or distributing material that expresses belief in the economic or political doctrines of any form of totalitarianism. This includes Marxists of every dispensation, the more ardent Francophiles, the queer little men with their queer little doctrines who inhabit the Columbus Circles and Bughouse Squares of America. A refugee who sells a copy of *Das Kapital* in a second-hand bookstore is liable to deportation.

The Soviet government maintains a strict iron curtain around itself and its satellites. It does not believe in freedom of movement. It goes to drastic extremes to protect its citizens from the contagion—and free air—of the outside world.

H.R. 9490 sharply limits the right of the US Government to admit foreigners on diplomatic business. With the Internal Security Act the Government can no longer offer asylum in this country to foreign diplomats who have repudiated Soviet imperialism and wish to escape reprisals.

These are only a few of the provisions of the Act. Those dealing with the control of Communists—which is what the Act set out to do—are themselves generally ambiguous, inefficient and, insofar as they jeopardize the rights of innocent men and women who may be the victims of unfounded suspicion, due to vague terminology, are downright dangerous to our national welfare.

H.R. 9490 is an unhappy piece of legislation. In a way, it represents a small victory for the Communists. America will be a little less America while it remains on the books. There will be that much less for all of us to believe in.

The Great Divide

THE military situation in Korea has improved so radically in the two weeks following the Inchon landings that the once rather academic problems that fortify the 38th Parallel are now the most urgent faced by the State Department.

The campaign is far from decided, since the Communists may be pulling troops out of the south to mount a counteroffensive against the new UN troops near Seoul, or to reinforce new lines north of the city. But it is not impossible that the speed and force of the UN attack will break up any Communist counteroffensive or consolidation.

Speculation on this situation is interesting but not too valuable with the events moving as rapidly as they are. There is, nevertheless, the real possibility that UN-US troops will arrive at the 38th Parallel in a matter of days. What then? is the question we are pressing in conversations at the UN. The United States says that the answer must be given by the General Assembly; we will remain in our role as agent of the UN. The fact of the matter is that the decision taken by the Assembly will be strongly, probably decisively, influenced by whatever recommendations the United States will make.

The State Department is reported to have separate plans to match several possible sets of circumstances: if the North Koreans should retreat in rout, if they should retire to defend the border, if they should get help from China, or if North Korea itself should be occupied by the Chinese Communists or the Soviets. Washington is playing it close to the chest until it sees how things are working out.

It is accepted in the State Department and at the United Nations that the North Korean government must be forced to surrender and to submit to the authority of the UN until a new, independent, all-Korean government can be set up. This is a reasonable and realistic solution so long as the Russians and Chinese stay out.

And if the Chinese or the Soviets should decide that things have gone far enough and should occupy or assist North Korea? Direct action against them would bring war, and the UN members would never force that show-down for stakes as small as they are now. Negotiation with them over the disposition of Korea would painfully take us back to where everything started.

There remain two elements that could prevent such a move by the Russians or Chinese. Occupation or assistance would be an act of power on behalf of an aggressor, and if it were properly exploited by Western propaganda it could make up the minds of many Asians who are still inclined to give Communism the benefit of the doubt, and to suspect the West of concealing Cecil Rhodes in the crusader's armor. The Russians are hopeful enough about their future in Asia to want to avoid a move as open to attack as this one would be.

The second factor is the speed of the present military operations. To date, our intelligence reports no signs of troop movements into Korea from the north. If we can keep the offensive moving at this pace, cut into the Communists deeply enough to abort counterattacks, and move into North Korea, we would stand a good chance of doing away with Russia and China's opportunity to intervene. Eliminating the temptation, this is called.

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New Political Qualifications

THIS year, for the first time, television is serving as a major weapon in American political campaigns. The premium it puts upon a pleasing countenance, as well as a well-modulated radio voice, makes talent of the Hollywood variety more and more a prerequisite for political office. Who will predict the outcome with any assurance when, for instance, rivals for the Senate are a former actress as attractive as Helen Gahagan Douglas and the youthful Richard M. Nixon, who is likewise known for his good looks? Will Chester Bowles of Connecticut be able to win out again as Governor despite the persuasiveness of his rival, Representative John Davis Lodge, a former movie star?

There is a further element to be added to the growth of pulchritude and a pleasing manner as assets in American politics. TV production costs are high; and sponsors of regular commercial programs will have to be compensated for relinquishing their time. In some instances the drain on campaign coffers is now at the rate of more than $200 a minute.

So one more product of Yankee ingenuity has come along to affect even our political life. To hold major political office, it will be increasingly necessary to have an effective radio voice, a face that can be made presentable and an ever bigger bankroll—although the latter can continue to be supplied by wealthy friends or a well-heeled political machine. The attributes of intellect, training and a certain public spiritedness fall still further down on the list.

Old Story

ANYONE who has followed the recent history of the decay and decline of Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist Government of China must feel, as he reads the news coming from the Philippines right now, that he has read all these news-dispatches before.

The Philippine story runs like this: President Quirino's Government is broke (against a $200 million deficit, the Government's checks have been bouncing for lack of revenue); the Communist-led Huk insurrection is out of hand (after saying repeatedly that his army was gradually flushing the Huk guerrillas out of the hills, Quirino now admits that the situation is serious); the army high command reportedly needs a housecleaning (the Defense Secretary recently resigned in disgust over Quirino's postponement of an army cleanup and he was replaced by a man who has since suggested, as one means of beating the Huks, that the Government import bloodhounds); although Quirino personally is honest, his Government suffers from what is called a "prevalence" of corruption (the local press persistently charges graft, inefficiency and misuse of public funds); finally, there is grumbling against the Government's land-distribution and unemployment policies.

Here, in short, is the story of Nationalist China all over again. Here, too, are all the conditions Communism has fed on in Asia.

In another important respect, the Philippine story resembles that of Nationalist China: as in China, the United States has poured money into the Philippines ($2 billion in the last five years) with virtually no strings attached as to how it is spent.

At work for the past few weeks in the Philippines, on President Truman's order, has been a 20-man US commission studying the Islands' groggy economy. When they report back to the President, they will undoubtedly recommend a US loan to save the Philippines. However, after what happened to our loose money in Chiang's China, it is very doubtful that a loan can save the Philippines unless we supervise the way it is spent. The question then is: how can we supervise the Philippine economy without being branded as imperialists, without violating our belief in national self-determination, our belief in the right of the Asiatic nations to their own freedom?

The question, of course, goes to the heart of all our troubles in Asia. To answer it properly, some working agreement, some over-all policy, has to be set between the US and all the free Asiatic peoples, a policy making it clear that we intend simply to help the Asiatics to stand on their own feet.

We have a chance to demonstrate our intentions now in the Philippines, and to set a definite policy in the Pacific, if we act with timeliness and with firm decision (qualities hitherto not a part of our Pacific policy).

The job in the Philippines will be undramatic, compared to the fireworks in Korea. But in its way, this job is fully as crucial as Korea. And if it is done soon enough, there will be no need for Americans to die again in the streets of Manila as they have been dying, of late, in the streets of Seoul.

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And Who Is My Neighbor?

The Golden Rule—with dead rats on the doorstep.

By GEORGE H. DUNNE

NEIGHBORLY ENDEAVOR, INC., made its appearance some months ago in a certain middle-class Los Angeles neighborhood, a pleasant neighborhood of attractive homes whose market value probably varies from $20,000 to $50,000.

One of the neighbors was Oscar Reichow, well known to Southern California sports fans because of his long association with Pacific Coast League baseball as executive secretary of the Hollywood Stars. A year or so ago Reichow decided to sell his home. It seems that he was constrained to do so by reason both of failing health and of declining financial fortunes—he has not for some time been associated with the Hollywood ball club.

Reichow put his house on the market. Nothing happened. The "For Sale" sign bleached in the sun. The neighbors went blissfully about their business unaffected by concern for Reichow's problems which became no less pressing with the flight of time. It is easy to understand why Reichow was very much relieved when, after months of worry, Mr. and Mrs. Wilson, after examining the house, made him a firm offer. Mr. and Mrs. Wilson were a respectable couple, properly married, financially solvent, adequately educated, decently mannered. Reichow sold them his home, probably pleased that his place among his neighbors was to be taken by such solid citizens.

Now it happened that Mr. and Mrs. Wilson were colorful people whereas all the other neighbors were colorless people. This explains the genesis and the purpose of Neighborly Endeavor, Inc., which sprang into being at this juncture.

A simple person, say someone like the Virgin Mary or the guileless Saint Joseph, would undoubtedly assume from the name that Neighborhly Endeavor, Inc., was formed for the purpose of welcoming the new neighbors into the community of fellowship of Leimert Park. He would be confirmed in this assumption when he learned from members of the new corporation that its motto was nothing else than the Golden Rule.

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And knowing the loneliness, the sense of isolation that can weigh upon one who moves into a strange country, a strange city, a strange neighborhood, the simple person, say someone like the Blessed Mother, would judge this a very heartwarming thing, a truly Christian thing.

The fact is, however, that the purpose of Neighborly Endeavor, Inc., was not at all to welcome the new neighbors into the community with merry song and clasp of hands. The purpose of Neighborly Endeavor, Inc., ("Just the Golden Rule, that's all") was to slam the collective door of the community in the face of the new neighbors and to find ways and means of revenging itself upon its old neighbor, Oscar Reichow.

This must surely be very confusing to a simple person, to someone like the Blessed Mother. It would be very difficult to explain that the genius of a bourgeois society is its ability to turn genuine values inside out, upside down, and to make words mean their exact opposite.

★

BOURGEOIS society is a kind of Alice-in-Wonderland, a sort of topsy-turvy, never-never land in which you will wander forever lost and bewildered unless you learn its peculiar language. The key to mastering the language is to understand that the words employed mean the opposite of what they seem to mean. When the people who make up bourgeois society are, at the same time, heirs to a Christian tradition the results are indeed bewildering. Then we get people not simply hating their enemies but hating them in the name of Christian zeal, not simply despising their neighbors but despising them in the name of Christian charity, not simply exploiting the poor but exploiting them in the name of justice. So we get Neighborly Endeavor, Inc., inspired by the Golden Rule and dedicated to driving one's neighbor out of the neighborhood.

Unfortunately for the purpose of the new corporation, it is no longer as easy to drive one's neighbor out of the neighborhood as it used to be, not since the United States Supreme Court belatedly awoke to a partial consciousness of what democracy is all about and declared restrictive covenants unenforceable by courts of this democratic land.

Lawyers, learned in the law, sadly pointed this

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out to Neighborly Endeavor, Inc., but, learned also in the wiles of the law, slyly suggested another and, at least for the lawyers, profitable outlet for the collective spite of the organized neighbors. If they could not sue to enforce the restrictive covenants, they could sue Oscar Reichow for damages.

New waves of good cheer flooded the breasts of the neighbors of good endeavor as they flocked to meetings, held in the auditorium of the public high school, where the plan was explained to them. If the Supreme Court had made it impossible for them to do to their new neighbors what they would like to do to them, at least a way might be found to do to their former neighbor what they would like to do to him. Thus the Golden Rule would triumph in the end!

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IF IT IS possible to find amusement in the antic behavior of fools intent upon destroying democracy, the meetings of Neighborly Endeavor, Inc., have not been without amusing incidents. There was the night an intelligent lady, not a member, arose to ask some pointed questions. The lady in question was Mrs. Daniel G. Marshall, then president of the Catholic Women's Club of Los Angeles, who, like her husband, founder of Los Angeles' Catholic Inter-racial Council, is that *rara avis,* a genuine Christian. Mrs. Marshall wanted to know specifically how much of the damages collected from Mr. Reichow would be left after court costs and lawyers' fees were paid. She wanted to know exactly how the residue was to be divided among the hundreds of members of Neighborly Endeavor, Inc. She wanted to know precisely how the relative degree of damage allegedly suffered by the different members of the organization would be calculated when it came time to divide the loot. Specifically she wanted to know how much more the neighbor living across the street from the former Reichow residence would get than the neighbor living two blocks away.

Before Mrs. Marshall finished her polite interrogatory the chairman was floundering helplessly in a confused welter of words, friendly neighbors were looking suspiciously at each other, lovely dreams of new television sets, new automobiles, new swimming pools, all at the expense of Mr. Reichow, were drifting out the windows like disappointed ghosts.

Other incidents have been less amusing. While Neighborly Endeavor, Inc., was holding its meetings, another neighbor sold his home to a Negro family. Before the actual transfer took place a neighborly effort was made to protect neighborhood property values by destroying the neighbor's property. The owners returned from a week-end in the country to discover that a friendly neighbor had inserted the mouth of their garden hose through the mail drop into the vestibule of the house, had turned on the water, flooding the interior and causing hundreds of dollars worth of damage to floors, rugs and furniture.

In the mimeographed literature through which it keeps the neighbors informed of its activities Neighborly Endeavor, Inc., while disclaiming responsibility for the deed (the inevitable consequence of its organized appeals to prejudice), made sport of the incident. After all, in Alice-in-Wonderland nobody expects people who have banded together to protect property values, to regard the destruction of property as anything but a good-natured prank. *Honi soit qui mal y pense.*

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ONE morning Mrs. Wilson found a neatly wrapped package on her doorstep. Removal of the wrappings disclosed an attractive candy box. Touched by what appeared to be the gracious gesture of one of her neighbors, Mrs. Wilson opened the box. It contained a dead rat.

This should remove any last lingering doubts about the unfitness of Negroes to live in white neighborhoods. It is simply a matter of different levels of cultural refinement, of standards of social behavior. It should be sufficiently obvious that people like Mr. and Mrs. Wilson, who have not as yet acquired such refined social graces as the art of leaving dead rats on their neighbors' doorsteps, can hardly be assimilated into this kind of neighborhood. Let them stay over on Central Avenue until through education they have raised themselves to a comparable cultural level. When they have learned to flood their neighbor's home, to leave dead rats on their neighbor's front porch or, better still, to throw dead rats through their neighbor's open window, they will be better equipped to meet the stringent standards of the white neighborhood.

There was one genuinely neighborly gesture which is worth recording. It came not from Neighborly Endeavor, Inc., but from Mr. and Mrs. Wilson, who invited all the neighbors to tea. Some Good Samaritans assisted with the arrangements. Mrs. Marshall, for instance, undertook to invite all the Catholic neighbors, for which kindly act scalding criticism was poured out upon her in certain Catholic circles.

Fifty or sixty people attended the tea, some of whom were from the neighborhood, a few of whom, it is gratifying to report, were Catholics. Most of the neighbors ignored the invitation. They missed a very enjoyable party. Inevitably, of course, the whole thing was labeled a Communist stratagem.

It would be pleasant to be able to report that the Catholic pastor of the neighborhood was the

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first guest to arrive and the last to leave, thus teaching a shining lesson in the obligations of Christian charity. As one who had undoubtedly read the Parable of the Good Samaritan countless times from the pulpit he might have been expected to understand who his neighbor was.

The pastor did not attend the tea. Moreover, if reports current in the neighborhood and even outside the neighborhood are to be believed, he was very indignant about the tea.

Those who read the Gospels with more reflection than they seem ordinarily to provoke were saddened but not surprised. They recalled that in Christ's parable too it was a priest who first "passed by."

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WHILE these things were going on, Neighborly Endeavor, Inc., was busy on other fronts. By getting Mr. Reichow fired from his job a minor, but quite gratifying, victory was registered for the Golden Rule. Of recent years Mr. Reichow has earned his living as a broadcaster of baseball games. Pressures were brought to bear upon his sponsor, a large baking concern. One can only guess as to the nature of these pressures, but very probably the sponsor was told that the dislike which the neighbors felt for Mr. Reichow would affect their taste for Langendorff bread.

In due course the damage suit was filed against the now jobless Mr. Reichow who, however, will not have to defend himself. Not long ago the harassed Mr. Reichow died.

I do not know whether Neighborly Endeavor, Inc., claims credit for his demise or whether it sent flowers. The latter seems more likely given the ruling passion of the organization, which is hypocrisy.

Of course, none of this matters to Mr. Reichow who is at last delivered from the hands of his erstwhile neighbors and from the terror of the Golden Rule. But it should matter to those American Negro boys in Korea whose heroic exploits I have been reading about for weeks in the newspapers.

Whom are they fighting for? For the stupid, arrogant little men and the vain, silly, feather-brained women who are Neighborly Endeavor, Inc.? For these horrid little respectable people who subvert democracy at home and make a mockery of democratic ideals before the world?

I suggest bringing the Negro boys home to live. If men have to be sent to Korea to die, send the members of Neighborly Endeavor, Inc. Their wives can go too. If they are half as good at bandaging wounds as they are at inflicting them, they should be an excellent aid to the medics. And if the regiment thinks it can use a chaplain, I know just the man for them.

Church-State: Some Overlooked History

By HARMON ASHLEY, JR.

IT IS RATHER odd that in the current great debate among the constitutional savants as to the meaning of the words "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion," no one has paid any close attention to the crucial and even decisive legislative history of those words. In the entire Battle of Books since the Supreme Court's McCollum decision (according to which these words were said to mean that no federal or state aid can be given to religion at all) much legislative history has, of course, been invoked by the many commentators. But it has been, in the main, the history of legislation, state or federal, ancillary or parallel to this first clause in the First Amendment of the Constitution, and not the history of that clause itself. And yet that history is mercifully short, and, negatively at least, quite conclusive.

It seems worthwhile, therefore, to cut through the labyrinthine tangle of argument (which by now is nearly as complex as a 14th century dispute over Being, and nearly as acrimonious as a 17th century dispute over Free Will) and simply to look at the Annals of Congress to see what the Constitutional Convention of 1789 thought it was doing when it enacted the establishment clause.

It may seem a little late in the debate to publish this passage, but it has been so furiously chopped up by proponents of the Court's no-aid-to-religion thesis, including Justice Rutledge, and so curiously ignored in its decisive import by opponents of that thesis, that the full report should now be made available to those who, it is hoped, will best know how to use it.

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THE importance of the following exchange of opinions (which appears in all the editions of the Annals of Congress for August 15, 1789) does *not* lie in the fact that it makes clear the understanding of James Madison as to the establishment clause, but in the fact that it is the only expression in the entire Annals of Congress of what the Congress *as a whole* meant by that

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clause; all the speakers' opinions are in accord.

(The form of the clause at that time read: "No religion shall be established by law, nor shall the equal rights of conscience be infringed." No debate is reported on the subsequent forms of the clause, and all the commentators agree that they reflect no change of Congressional intention.)

"Mr. Sylvester had some doubts of the propriety of the mode of expression used in this paragraph. He apprehended that it was liable to a construction different from what had been made by the committee. *He feared it might be thought to have a tendency to abolish religion altogether.*

"Mr. Vining suggested the propriety of transposing the two members of the sentence.

"Mr. Gerry said it would read better if it was, that no religious doctrine shall be established by law.

"Mr. Sherman thought the amendment altogether unnecessary, inasmuch as Congress had no authority whatever delegated to them by the Constitution to make religious establishments; he would, therefore, move to have it struck out.

"Mr. Carroll. As the rights of conscience are, in their nature, of peculiar delicacy, and will little bear the gentlest touch of governmental hand; and as many sects have concurred in opinion that they are not well secured under the present Constitution, he said he was much in favor of adopting the words. He thought it would tend more towards conciliating the minds of the people to the Government than almost any other amendment he had heard proposed. He would not contend with gentlemen about the phraseology, his object was to secure the substance in such a manner as to satisfy the wishes of the honest part of the community.

"Mr. Madison said, he apprehended the meaning of the words to be, *that Congress should not establish a religion, and enforce the legal observation of it by law,* nor compel men to worship God in any manner contrary to their conscience. Whether the words are necessary or not, he did not mean to say, but they had been required by some of the State Conventions, who seemed to entertain an opinion that under the clause of the Constitution, which gave power to Congress to make all laws necessary and proper to carry into execution the Constitution and the laws made under it, enabled them to make laws of such a nature as might infringe the rights of conscience, and *establish a national religion; to prevent these effects he presumed the amendment was intended, and he thought it as well expressed as the nature of the language would admit.*

"Mr. Huntington said that he feared, with the gentleman first up on this subject; that the words might be taken in such latitude as to be extremely hurtful to the cause of religion. He understood the amendment to mean what had been expressed by the gentleman from Virginia; but others might find it convenient to put another construction upon it. The ministers of their congregations to the Eastward were maintained by the contributions of those who belonged to their society; the expense of building meeting-houses was contributed in the same manner. These things were regulated by by-laws. If an action was brought before a Federal Court on any of these cases, the person who had neglected to perform his engagements could not be compelled to do it; for a support of ministers or building of places of worship might be construed into a religious establishment.

"By charter of Rhode Island, no religion could be established by law; he could give a history of the effects of such a regulation; indeed the people were now enjoying the blessed fruits of it. He hoped, therefore, the amendment would be made in such a way to secure the rights of religion, but *not to patronize those who professed no religion at all.*

"Mr. Madison thought, if the word 'national' was inserted before religion, it would satisfy the minds of honorable gentlemen. *He believed that the people feared one sect might obtain a pre-eminence, or two combine together, and establish a religion to which they would compel others to conform. He thought if the word 'national' was introduced, it would point the amendment directly to the object it was intended to prevent.*" (Emphasis added.)

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NOW can it be fairly concluded from these statements that any of the speakers was under the impression that "established by law" meant "aided in any guise, form, or degree," as Justice Rutledge insisted? But it was just this exchange, oddly enough, that Justice Rutledge found "the only enlightening reference in the Annals." Of course, he edited the whole thing so sharply and with such suspicious astuteness, and then thrust it so deeply into a single footnote, that one would scarcely guess that, by all the canons of legal construction, this was the first and inescapable test that any interpretation of the establishment clause had to square with.

His cutting job casts not only an odd light on the late Justice's notion of judicial accuracy, but a withering light on the whole Everson-McCollum theory of the establishment clause adopted by him and his brothers on the supreme bench. Lined up against this absolutely authoritative piece of legislative history, their entire no-aid-to-religion interpretation falls to bits: it is literally incredible. Of course, in none of their opinions in these two cases did any of the other justices venture to mention the Annals of Congress; only Justice Rutledge dared to touch it, and even he seems to have had doubts about it:

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"No further proof is needed that the Amendment forbids any appropriation, large or small, from public funds to aid or support any and all religious exercises. But if more were called for, the debates in the First Congress . . . supply it.

"By contrast with the Virginia history, the congressional debates on consideration of the amendment reveal only sparse discussion, reflecting the fact that the essential issues had been settled. Indeed the matter had become so well understood as to have been taken for granted in all but formal phrasing."

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NOW, while no further proof of the destructive effort of this passage is needed than the late Justice's mutilation of it, if more were called for, this commentary of his abundantly supplies it. Everyone knew, he seems to claim, there was to be no aid to religion: that was why no one bothered to say so. That being "settled," Madison then arose to suggest measures for preventing any sect, or sects, from "obtaining a pre-eminence." But, if no money could be spent from public funds in aid of any religion at all, it was perfectly absurd of Madison to be anxious lest the Government exalt one or several religions to a pre-eminence, for that obviously could not be done without expending money on the religion to be exalted: if it could not be spent to aid all religions, impartially and equally, it certainly could not be spent on one or only a few, and Madison was just wasting his breath.

And yet, as Madison himself noted, "I venture to say that if we confine ourselves to an enumeration of simple, acknowledged principles, the ratification will meet with but little difficulty." All he had to do to reassure the others was simply to suggest that they adopt what Mr. Justice Rutledge is sure they were all agreed on: language to the effect that Congress should make no law *aiding* or prohibiting the free exercise of religion. That he did not do so at this crucial point seems finally and shatteringly to show that Congress did not intend to adopt the Everson-McCollum rationale in the establishment clause.

Another, and rather amusing, indication of the importance of this passage comes from Professor Butts of Teachers College, whose new book in defense of the no-aid-to-religion construction of the clause is hailed (by his publishers, the Beacon Press) as "ammunition for defense of the American Way in education." In dealing with this debate, and touchingly unaware of the dispositive nature of his material, Professor Butts of course paraphrases freely, but has only this to say in support of his cause: "In the light of Madison's experience and expressed views 'establish a religion' meant to him financial support for religion." (Who says they can't write English at Teachers College?)

But what disposes of the issue is not Madison's parliamentary biography or the views he expressed on another matter in Virginia, but rather what the entire Congress thought that Madison meant when speaking on this particular federal clause and what the entire Congress meant in enacting the clause. Whatever Madison's notion of establishment was (and Professor O'Neill and Father Parsons have given us good reason to think it was not the present Court's), it is not material to the issue: the United States did not enact James Madison's private opinion on the subject; it enacted a law understood and agreed to by many other men. The Annals of Congress give us clear examples of what their understanding was. No candid man can say that it was that of Butts, Blanshard, and the Supreme Court.

The normal judicial process in construing a statute is not to look at the legislative history if the plain meaning is clear. But it has remained for the Supreme Court to disregard the legislative history of the statute they were construing, when that of some other statute seemed clear to them. In doing so, they have aroused a vast controversy: as Mr. Blanshard quite accurately observes, this question "will be the battleground of democracy in the next ten years."

Furthermore, in doing so, they have distracted even their extremely able critics from the short, clear legislative history of the establishment clause, even though it is obviously the central authority in the matter. Everyone, in short, has been led off the main trail into half a dozen fascinating by-paths, so that the controversy now includes Jefferson's Virginia Bill for Religious Freedom, the Syllabus of Errors, the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, and other matter not relevant.

★

TO RETURN then to the fundamental question, the present writer ventures to propound two categorical propositions:

I. That the establishment clause must mean what its enactors thought it meant (*all* its enactors, not merely Madison), and the authoritative record of that thought is in the Annals of Congress.

II. That they stated their meaning and intentions, as recorded in the Annals of Congress, in language that shows, flatly and finally, that they could not possibly have intended to bar any aid to religion "in any form, guise or degree."

There remains, of course, the duty, for opponents of the Everson-McCollum rationale, of getting their fellow Americans to look at this record in the Annals of Congress. That should not be too difficult.

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FROM FRANCE

Reaction to the Encyclical

NO ONE is deluded about "Humani Generis" in France. It is France and certain currents of French theological thought to which this encyclical refers. There had been a rumor for many weeks that a document, "a new Syllabus" they said, was about to appear. Then nothing happened. So that by the end of July the non-appearance of the encyclical was ascribed to interventions by bishops, if not to political and diplomatic representations.

Finally the blow fell. It made less clamor than was hoped for in some quarters or feared in others. Except for two or three specific points the document is primarily a series of admonitions, of warnings, and it lacks the severity of the Syllabus. Although it is firm, it maintains from start to finish a tone which is fatherly and serene.

What does "Humani Generis" say? Much less than certain men would have liked it to. It is not the sweeping and reactionary document that they ardently wished. It should be noted that the theory of evolution "as long as it confines its speculations to the development of the human body from other living matter already in existence," is not condemned, and also that "this question may be legitimately canvassed by research and by discussion between experts on both sides."

Consideration for scholars must likewise be noted. Various expressions show the care with which the shades of meaning of certain judgments were expressed and how the door was left open for the work of scholars and specialists (the positive sciences, biblical exegesis, the improving and perfecting, if possible, of theological formulas).

★

SO THE over-all impression is that Rome, after a number of years of waiting, has sought in this document to recall to reason, without wounding them, a certain number of the faithful, lay and clerical, who seemed about to embark on roads that would lead them astray. It is primarily the lack of attention to its teaching office which seems to disturb Rome the most. On several occasions the text refers to the respect which should be due the living *magisterium* of the Church, to its teaching office which is exercised through the Popes and bishops. In writing encyclicals, "it is true, the Popes do not exercise their teaching authority to the full. But such statements come under the day-to-day teaching of the Church, which is covered by the promise, 'He who listens to you, listens to Me.'"

The errors against which the encyclical puts the human race on guard all seem formulated in one of its first paragraphs: The present tendencies of secular science are characterized by a general evolutionism; even in the domain of thought this fluidity, which neglects the unchangeable essences of being and overturns the foundations of all truths, has actually attracted certain Catholic theologians and philosophers. "The mysteries of the Faith [they say] can never be expressed in terms which exhaust the truth—only in approximate terms, perpetually needing revision, which adumbrate the truth up to a point but suffer inevitably from a kind of refraction."

Such an attitude, the encyclical warns, leads to the most dangerous relativism. As opposed to that the Holy See affirms that "The framework which has been built up, over a course of centuries, by the common consent of Catholic teachers, in the effort to reach truth about such and such a doctrine, cannot be dismissed as resting on a flimsy foundation of that sort. It rests on principles, on ideas, which have been inferred from a just apprehension of all created things; and in the making of such inferences the star of truth, divinely revealed, has shone out to the human mind through the Church's agency."

Consequently the encyclical reiterates the Thomist thesis of the demonstrable truth of dogma and defends the scholastic thesis that theology and philosophy form a logical whole. Clearly this text raises the whole problem of knowledge, the problem of the adequacy of human language to express truth and the whole concept of a perennial philosophy. Obviously I cannot here go into an analysis of problems about which weighty volumes have been written. I should like simply to note the effects that such a text may have on the present life of the Church in France.

★

THERE is no doubt that the intellectual attitudes which were denounced by "Humani Generis" were widespread in France. But it would be difficult to say exactly how widespread. On the one hand there are many members of the clergy, and still greater numbers of the laity, who are well aware that there is much that is ineffective in the present catechetical and teaching work of the Church—in the form of sermons or various written texts. And these people have made a tremendous effort to adapt the message of the Church to the mind of the average man in the twentieth century.

Moreover, there are a certain number of discoveries, sciences, new disciplines, which Saint Thomas could not foresee. Without taking away from the deposit of the Faith, the essentials of dogma, from that which is unchangeable, is it not possible to integrate the contributions of sociology, history, phenomenology or depth psychology, for example, with a conception of the world inherited from the Middle Ages that the Church continues to teach to the faithful, and which has become outmoded at a number of points?

It would seem that there is in this attitude nothing injudicious, since the encyclical itself acknowledges that the Church cannot link its fate to that of any single philosophy. The precise point at which the encyclical

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aims is the problem of operating between what is necessarily outmoded at the end of a number of centuries in every philosophical system — even Thomism — and the truths, the eternal principles which it embodies and which can continue to inspire and direct the thought of those who are in search. That there are in the philosophy of Saint Thomas such principles is what appears unquestionable and what the Church teaches and reaffirms most forcefully.

However, certain men seem to question the very principles of the philosophy traditionally taught by the Church, to deny that human reason can by itself arrive at a true and certain knowledge of a personal God and of a natural law implanted in our souls by Him.

They deny that man by the exercise of his intelligence can arrive at a body of solid and immutable truths. They question the principles of identity, causality, finality. They affirm that in this poor world there are only temporary truths, constantly jeopardized by the evolution of things and the coincidence of effects and causes. Finally they arrive at certain attitudes close to agnosticism and Protestantism and even give evidence of a dangerous intellectual and moral laxity.

Thus the reaction of French Catholics as a whole when the encyclical appeared—at least of those from every quarter I was able to reach in the course of several weeks—was unanimous: "A gesture which is perhaps disagreeable, as is every gesture of authority, but a gesture which had become necessary. There were people who were really going too far."

★

I MUST add besides that many were reassured on reading the text. They had feared worse. And what had made them most fearful was that several months ago restrictive measures were taken against men who were regarded in a number of intellectual circles, Catholic and otherwise, as the vanguard of French theology.

A measure presented as a strictly internal one within the Society of Jesus has deprived five eminent professors at the scholasticate of Fourvières (near Lyon) of their teaching faculties. Among them were Fathers De Lubac, Ganne, and Bouilliard. Doubtless this step was not taken without advice and probably not without recommendation from Roman circles. This has been a source of sorrow for all those for whom Father De Lubac in particular represented one of the purest figures among Christian teachers, one who has done the most to make Catholic dogma assimilable to the modern mind (*Catholicism*) and to discover among the myths, hopes and negations of the contemporary conscience, hidden calls to grace (*The Drama of Atheistic Humanism*).

Must we then believe, as certain outside observers declare, that Roman circles, yielding to political influences (the Spanish clergy, which is influential in Rome, greatly reproaches the French clergy for its political and social progressivism), are seeking to bring about a forced integration?

It does not seem so at least up to now. The step against the Jesuits of Fourvières, as that against certain Dominicans of Saulchoir seven years ago, does not represent a disciplinary action; according to well informed sources it is simply a precaution against the distortions of certain overly enthusiastic and maladroit disciples. Not one of the books written by these Jesuits has been withdrawn from circulation, nor was any of their theses attacked by name, as was the case in the beginning of the century with the Modernists such as Loisy.

★

DESPITE these reassuring signs a certain anxiety remains in Catholic *avant garde* circles. (That term should have no pejorative sense here. I mean certain forward-looking Christians who are not camp followers of the Communist Party. I mean all Catholics who are torn by the spiritual distress of their country and who refuse to sleep complacently with a good conscience but work with all their strength for the advance of the Kingdom of God.) These circles are right in saying, without being pharisaical at all, that nowhere else has the problem of the divorce between the Church and the modern world been posed and studied with so great courage and frankness as in France. (The relationship between science and faith, the absence of the Church among the proletarian masses, the reunion of the dissident branches of Christendom.) And nowhere else have as many indications been made of the solutions for these problems.

This divorce, they add in these circles, doubtless does not occur in Italy, Spain or the South American countries, which enjoy an ancient Catholic culture where social pressure is exerted in favor of religion. These latter are not well placed to understand the situation in which France, Germany and the Catholic nations behind the Iron Curtain now find themselves. Sometimes their judgments tend to lack intelligence or sympathy.

Thus I have heard the fear expressed that "Humani Generis" might be a preface in the intellectual field to action against the various missionary efforts begun since the war such as the *Mission de Paris* or *Mission de France*, which have many enemies but which represent nevertheless, in the opinion of those who know them from within, the only serious and effective effort to re-evangelize a dechristianized people.

Let me also reflect another fear which I heard expressed several weeks ago. "Let us admit that there exists a perennial philosophy. Must this perennial philosophy be such that it is of no aid to us in understanding our own time and its problems and in aiding our contemporaries in their often sincere efforts toward the truth? Is this not what happens in advanced Catholic teaching and in a number of seminaries? The Thomist system deprived of its sap is often administered in a condensed form difficult to assimilate. Students are reproached for loving novelties. But if the ancient things were presented to them attractively they would not be so desirous of seeking life elsewhere. Life, that is what they seek first of all and the movement of thought and of knowledge!

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"There is no doubt that when Saint Thomas drew up his treatises he was dealing with controversies, with preoccupations, which were very real for his contemporaries; hence the immediate success of his philosophical system. What young Catholics, be they seminarians or simple laymen, would like people to show them is how Thomist philosophy despite its age is always equal to meeting the essential questions which contemporary man raises as to his destiny and that of the universe. Obviously if all professors of theology were capable of the effort that a Maritain or a Gilson accomplish on his behalf, the problem would not arise.

"It does arise, however. And the fear that many have is that a return to the past toward traditions emptied of their spirit, toward the routine teaching of mummified thought, will scarcely add to the renown of seminaries which as it is do not pass as brilliant centers of intellectual life."

★

IT MUST also be said that in order to obtain an adherence of those faithful who are most exacting—an adherence which is not only religious but also profoundly intellectual—the recent encyclical would have to be amplified. Whatever its form, this amplification would have to be more explicit on each of the precise points on which Rome wishes to declare its doctrine. It is not because certain proposed solutions have been declared erroneous that the problem itself is solved. And it is not because Rome readily indicates the solutions at which it would finally arrive that the body of the faithful has no right to be informed as to the intermediary steps which have led to the solutions indicated. I know, for example, excellent Catholics who on the testimony of renowned biblical scholars have believed up to now that in the very first paragraphs of the Bible the Hebrew noun signifying man, being at the same time singular and plural, could designate either a singular Adam or a collective Adam. This permitted them to find a genuine harmony between the dogma on the creation of man and the latest hypotheses of paleontology which tend to indicate that the human race first appeared simultaneously in several places on the earth.

Whether it is a matter then of exegesis, of original sin, of existentialism or of polygenism, such an amplification would be desirable. On the one hand it would take into account, without artificially forcing a harmonization, the actual discoveries of science; and on the other it would not force Catholics to appear to be holding fast to ridiculous beliefs of former ages when they discuss things with cultivated and intelligent unbelievers.

If such an amplification is not forthcoming, it might be believed that here in the twentieth century the Church nourishes in her bosom numerous latter-day Galileos. And the malicious quotation by which *Le Monde* concluded its article of commentary on the encyclical would find itself fully justified: "It would be a great mistake to believe that the evolution of Christian thought has taken place without obstacles and without opposition."

ROBERT BARRAT.

The Stage

DAPHNE LAUREOLA

AN INDIFFERENT play is often very useful as a performer's vehicle. When the performer has vast amounts of entirely personal charm and a variety of technical resources, a poor play may suit his purposes better than a good one. The poor play is a kind of vacuum which the performer is both challenged and equipped to fill out of his own resources, and the result, while only vaudeville, may display the abilities of a certain kind of star better than a tighter or better characterized play would ever permit. That is why the Lunts, who after all are more closely related to Bobby Clark than to Garrick and Siddons, are able to make a more satisfying evening out of "O Mistress Mine" than they are out of "The Taming of the Shrew," and it is why Gertrude Lawrence is more devastating in "Skylark" than in "Pygmalion."

James Bridie's "Daphne Laureola" is certainly an indifferent play. The mistake which its producers have made is that of casting it, not with a performer, but with an actress. An actress is someone who respects and interprets a given play faithfully, using only so much of herself as the written text requires. Dame Edith Evans, being an actress, treats Mr. Bridie's play in this way, and the result is inevitably disappointing. She has more stature than the play can make use of; and she is not a vaudevillian at all. She is fascinating to watch because she promises so much; but the play never permits her to fulfil that promise, and she cannot, or will not, fulfil it with tricks. The audience, the night I saw the play, was doing its best, by frequent applause and overeager laughter, to convince itself that it was seeing Dame Edith Evans at work. But it was itself working much harder than Mr. Bridie did, and than Miss Evans is able to. On her next trip over, Miss Evans should bring something out of her Old Vic repertoire.

★

THE play is remarkably like its star—utterly without trickery when only trickery would save it. Having vaguely to do with the fact that women do not want to be the moon goddesses men sometimes make them, it is generally static and untheatrical. The direction of Murray Macdonald has, if anything, emphasized this quality. It was no doubt the author's intention that, for the sake of some fuzzy and unnecessary symbolism, the most valuable acting areas should be made inaccessible to the actors throughout the first and third acts, but the director has done nothing to compensate for this by any invention of detail. The actors sit stiffly against the back wall of the set, and their very immobility, especially in the first act, gives a false and misleading tone to the play. We are led to expect something symbolic, and,

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heaven forbid, important. The rigor of Miss Evans' position, abetted by the severity of her costume, tends to suggest Cassandra more than a tipsy matron, and it is some time before we are able to grasp the light and domestic feeling which the play finally intends.

It should be added that Cecil Parker, with a trace more of the ham about him, makes something very wonderful of a death scene in the second act. (*At the Music Box.*)

WALTER KERR.

The Screen

"AS DREAMS ARE MADE ON"

IT IS REALLY quite appropriate that Hollywood, spinner of so many daydreams for escapists, should give us a movie version of Tennessee Williams' play *"The Glass Menagerie,"* which is about a family of dreaming escapists. And I must say right off that Warner Brothers have made an excellent film—perhaps it is too long and Irving Rapper's direction is at times somewhat on the slow and arty side, but the production is so good and the script, which Mr. Williams wrote with Peter Berneis, is so fascinating that you lose track of time and escape from your own reality in your concern over the Wingfields who make escape a business.

★

IT WOULD be presumptuous to compare Gertrude Lawrence's portrayal of the middle-aged mother with that of Laurette Taylor who gave what I consider one of the finest performances I have ever seen on the stage. However Miss Lawrence deserves more than small applause for her moving portrait of the tired but valiant Amanda who refuses to face reality, who tries to add to her son's small income by selling magazine subscriptions, who doesn't understand her children anymore than she understood her husband, a telephone man who fell in love with long distance and deserted the family years ago.

And yet Amanda, living in the past as she does, never forgetting the days when she was a Southern belle with 17 gentleman callers (I wish the film hadn't shown us this flashback) could be her own daughter grown old. Jane Wyman brings to this role of the daughter a beautiful sensitivity as she fingers the little glass animals which represent poetic escape for her—escape from the drab apartment in which the family lives, from the horrid typing school where the competition is too much for her, from her nagging mother, even from her own crippled body. Her brother, expertly played by Arthur Kennedy, is a little more successful in his escaping; he writes poetry to forget about his hateful job at the

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warehouse; he gets drunk; he goes to the movies because he likes adventure and his mother's wagging tongue can't follow him there; and finally, although he hates to leave his sister, he runs away to sea where he remembers this whole story about his family who are no doubt still in that unattractive St. Louis apartment, still waiting for "the long delayed but always expected something that we live for."

★

OBVIOUSLY "The Glass Menagerie" is a film of character and mood, and it sustains the tragic-comedy, fanciful-reality mood from beginning to end. It is not broken when the camera moves out of the Wingfield apartment (which is always dominated by the mother's ceaseless yackity-yack in a Southern drawl) or in the plot's one big event: when the son finally succumbs to his mother's nagging and brings home a gentleman caller for the shy sister. Kirk Douglas portrays this man with a pleasing warmth and vitality. It looks for a while, however, that the bashful girl won't be able to face her caller; but before his short visit is over, he is able to instil a lasting confidence in her; and perhaps when the next gentleman caller comes, well, perhaps. . . . I hope no one objects because this film, which is so full of compassion for our fellow beings, ends a touch more hopefully than did Tennessee Williams' original play. It is this note of hope that gives a more thoughtful and realistic answer to the Wingfields' desperate cry: "What are we going to do with the rest of our lives—watch the glass menagerie go by?"

★

"BITTER RICE" is another new film that goes in rather heavily for symbols. This is an Italian import, with English titles, and concerns itself mainly with the workers in the rice fields of the Po Valley. Director Giuseppe De Santis and his staff actually went into that region and photographed most of his film there with plenty of realistic shots of the mondine (as these women workers are called) harvesting the crop, putting in next year's plants, and living in dormitories under conditions that no one would call home-like. These women are not allowed to talk while they work—so they sing instead; how they quite have the heart for singing as they stand knee-deep in bogs I'm not sure; but needless to say the atmospheric scenes in this movie are fascinating.

I can't say as much for the film's plot which is extremely melodramatic. In fact against these realistic backgrounds, the story's sensational aspects become too sordid. We follow the misfortunes of one particular worker (played by Silvana Mangano who looks and acts like Clara Bow when she was the It girl of the movies) and we see her come to no good end when she falls for a thief who hangs around the mondine looking for his girl friend. Doris Dowling, whom we have seen in American pictures, plays this gangster's moll with quite a Hollywood touch; but it is her good fortune to fall in with the other girl's discarded boy friend, a soldier with a lot of good sense and apparently the only worthwhile standards of this whole unpleasant group. Director De Santis lets violence and sex run away with his story; no doubt these fertile rice fields offer opportunities for both, what with labor problems and a lot of cooped-up, energetic women to be controlled. But "Bitter Rice" is more like a series of pictures for yellow journalism than a realistic study of mondine. I'm sorry that De Santis' themes got out of hand; this could have been another interesting and honest Italian movie.

★

IF YOU want to see a Hollywood excursion into realism and thrills you couldn't do better than *"Union Station."* Rudolph Mate has directed, in a first-rate manner, this story about cops tracking down some kidnappers. It is remarkable not so much for the plot itself, which involves a blind girl (Allene Roberts) who is snatched by villain Lyle Bettger and associates, as for Mate's handling of the terrifying themes, the pursuit of the criminals and the fine shots of Los Angeles, the background for all this excitement. William Holden and Barry Fitzgerald portray the detectives working on the case. Their portrayals and the performances throughout are excellent. "Union Station" will thrill and chill as well as give you some insight as to how cops work.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

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Of Note

Human Needs

IN THE SEPTEMBER issue of *Orate Fratres* (Collegeville, Minnesota) Father Daniel Cantwell writes on the book *Human Relations in Modern Business* (Prentice-Hall. $1).

> Robert Wood Johnson, president of Johnson and Johnson, and the 48 other business, religious, and labor leaders who issued the report on human relations in modern business have done a highly valuable job in analyzing what is wrong. They knew that something was wrong in modern business life. Strikes, absenteeism, griping, hostility towards employers: all of these problems proved it to them. What they wanted to know was the cause. The surface problems were only the rash. . . .
>
> "Progress," Johnson wrote, "has been real, but there is still work to be done. Even if men are well fed, clothed and housed, it will not be enough. Man's social and moral needs must be met. He must feel that he is more than an automaton, a cog in a machine."
>
> Faced with serious problems Johnson's group did serious thinking. They judged that "the so-called inevitability of 'economic law' is not enough to justify a callous disregard of the basic dignity of man." That inhumanly "lifeless machines and living men are classified as 'factors of production'." That actually "labor is not a commodity, to be bought and sold, used and discarded, like any machine tool, in the factory." That foolishly "sometimes it is asserted that workers are never satisfied, no matter what is done for them." That fallaciously "the notion of 'economic man' . . . assumed that if workers received sufficient wages so that they were fed, clothed, and housed adequately, they would be content."
>
> At this point I began to think of problems of parish life, absenteeism from Mass, growing coolness toward the clergy, dreamy indifference in the eyes of those who do come to Mass on Sunday. And I caught myself thinking: and all of this in spite of all that we have done for them.
>
> Could that be exactly the trouble with parish life? Namely, that we think of the parish as an ordinary well-run factory, with well-regulated service, with Masses as dependable as the train-schedule, with the people as passive instruments, almost cogs in our little machine. We think of the parish as the place where we are doing things for the people, and we can't understand why they are not content. Especially so, since the things we do for them we do with praiseworthy faithfulness; they are well-fed; we administer the sacraments generously; their sins are forgiven; we answer sick-calls promptly.
>
> What more do they want? We can't understand why they don't come to Mass. If they don't like and respect us, we think them ungrateful. We have not been schooled to realize that Christ intended that the social cravings of men would be satisfied in the worship of His Father and in the work of establishing His kingdom, that all would have part in a *joint effort*, that all would have human and divine esteem and recognition.
>
> It is useless to go on trying to handle absenteeism and anti-clericalism by chastising those who do come to Mass. No intelligent employer today would try to handle similar problems in such a manner. Indeed he would expect to lose his workers, he would expect to see his factory disintegrate if his workers were kept as completely passive as those who are supposed to work with us in the worship of God and in the sanctification of the world.
>
> Sometimes, I think the wonder is not that so many people don't come to Mass. The wonder is that so many of them still come at all.
>
> "The Christian life is social life," says Don Luigi Sturzo, "our society with God through Christ and our brotherly society in God through Christ; otherwise there is no life but spiritual and social disintegration."
>
> . . . I doubt whether an isolated liturgical effort will really succeed in total Christian transformation in a working class parish unless the Christ whom people see in vestments at the altar is concerned about the whole lives of the people and about the lives of all the people and about all of the freedoms which all of them have lost.
>
> As Pius XII says: "All the actions of the people at the altar should manifest more clearly the living unity of the Mystical Body." So, I would suggest, that all of the actions of the priest at the altar and in the parish must demonstrate more clearly the concern of the Living God for the lives, the freedom, the dignity of His children.

The Christian State

THE CHRISTIAN State is the subject of a long article in the September issue of *Esprit* (27 rue Jacob, Paris 7).

Here is an excerpt.

> Very often by the term "Christian State" is meant a State which turns Christianity into a state religion that takes advantage of Caesar's strength and his arms: the State, on the one hand, backs up the profession of the Christian faith with the force of Caesar, and the religious society in return gives a "confessional" consecration to the state power, thereby assuring itself of official domination.
>
> Understood this way, a Christian State will be a State which "regulates" the public expression of

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Christianity by state constraints, as suggested by the third temptation tried on Christ by Satan—the temptation of "clericalism," in the sense that it was used in and condemned by the Declaration of the French Episcopate in November, 1945. . . .

Sometimes by the terms Christian politics, Christian economics, Christian social solutions and the like, there is a tendency, more or less confused, to imply that the Christian religion furnishes ready-made solutions to all the problems, economic and social, that face human societies—solutions which can be deduced in the abstract from Christian doctrine, without making any demands on history or the creative findings of human genius, solutions which need nothing more for their execution than to be brought into practice by the State. As if the State were the executive agent of an economic and social regime whose temporal structures were contained in and inscribed in religious dogma. We will say it all with a word: social clericalism.

But these very terms, Christian State, Christian politics, Christian social economy, etc., can be taken in another sense, perhaps not as common as these others but more profound in its meaning. They can mean a State, politics, a social economy which is *personalist,* which brings order into the human social structures by placing them under the directing idea that the human person enjoys a spiritual autonomy.

Books

Soviet Politics: The Dilemma of Power. Barrington Moore, Jr. Harvard. $6.

THE PURPOSE of this book is to test the role of ideas in social change. Change in Russia since 1917 has been conspicuous. To what extent has it been determined by the ideas held by Russia's new masters? That is the question.

Quite correctly, when presenting these ideas, the author reproduces not the original formulas of Marxism, but their interpretation and modification by Lenin. Lenin, he believes, wanted to grant Russia—and humanity—freedom and equality. But when planning the instruments which could achieve this goal, he chose an authoritarian solution. From the very start of the experiment, circumstances required choice between the democratic ends and the authoritarian means. The choices of Lenin and his successor always fell in favor of the authoritarian means, which was tantamount to the retention of power despite the obvious inability to achieve that for the sake of which it had been seized. In consequence, Russia became a society where freedom is conspicuous by its absence and where social distances have reappeared and are increasing.

This does not mean, believes the author, that the original ideas have entirely disappeared from the political horizon. He emphasizes the persistent efforts of the new rulers of Russia to achieve mass participation in elections, trade unions and other "mass agencies." But he cannot offer a single instance of genuine efforts to bring about civil liberties, say, of the type of the First Ten Amendments to the American Constitution. He also denies that real social classes have already emerged, though he is fully aware of numerous processes working in that direction.

The result of the investigation is approximately the same as that reached by the present reviewer in his *The Great Retreat* (1946). The Communist master plan has been embodied only in relation to the collectivization of the means of production; in all other aspects, contemporary Russia is at variance with the expectations of Lenin, not to speak of the earlier Marxists. The lesson is obvious: utopian ideas do not take root in reality when applied to concrete societies; they distort and sometimes destroy them, but never produce the effects anticipated by their inventors. Mr. Moore does not draw this conclusion; neither does he draw any different one, since in his conclusion, the weakest chapter in the book, no articulated theory on the role of ideas in social change is offered—contrary to statements made in the earlier parts of the book.

Nevertheless, the book is a valuable contribution to the understanding of Communism at work. It is written in a readable style and is based on a painstaking study of primary sources. In some places the author goes too deeply into rather unimportant details concerning the differences in ideas and plans of various factions within the Communist party (so long, that is, as such factions were permitted to exist). Too many times he has difficulty determining how much of the credit for social change was due to conflicting ideas (plans and anticipations of the political leaders) and how much it was due to the pressure of objective circumstances. One has, however, to acknowledge that no satisfactory tool for the analysis of problems of this kind exists.

N. S. TIMASHEFF.

Cast a Cold Eye. Mary McCarthy. Harcourt. $2.75.

THIS is a collection of stories which were previously published in magazines. They are interesting, well written, and touched with an over-all sadness that is too deep for laughter to touch. Four pieces are fictional, three are derived from real situations and real people.

The Weeds, a story with a Katherine Mansfield flavor (it sounds like a take-off), describes the introspections of a sensitive, unhappy wife who is unable to overcome habit, and who surrenders to the sentimental lie of a loving but stolid husband. Weeds and flowers are the symbolic accessories in much the same manner as in other sorrowing woman stories. What is most effective is the description of the boredom and frustration which accom-

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pany the wife's temporary escape. There is a neat handling of the let-down that follows the romantic images of independence.

The second story reveals Miss McCarthy in her primary occupation. She lists the characteristics of a composite man, the party guest who will be forever and ever. This is an essay; there is no action. But the writer's finest weapons are operating, and the psychologist and the executioner are especially evident.

The most elaborate story is *The Cicerone,* another study in personalities rather than action. The impact of an Italian idler upon three Americans is the frame which Miss McCarthy uses to select, secure, impale and dissect snobberies, affectations and hardened hearts. The conversational crusher is most prominent here—"she was always second to laugh at a pratfall of her spirit," "he seemed to bear the same relation to a man that a Gold Flake bears to a normal cigarette," "she made love in Europe because . . . one was said to learn languages a great deal more readily in bed."

Of the remembrances the one in which the self-righteous grandmother appears is the best. The pugnacious guardian ("The teachings of the Church did not interest her, except as they were a rebuke to others") is completely realized in a few sentences, and her image is additional evidence of the insight into temperament and mentality that Miss McCarthy has, of her verbal ability to indict with humor and relevance. This writing woman knows what she is writing about, and she knows how to write.

GEORGE MILES.

South. William Sansom. Harcourt. $2.75.

THE subtitle of this collection of short stories, *Aspects and Images from Corsica, Italy and Southern France,* is most happily chosen. It subtly suggests the eye, the eye that sensitively discerns the passing color and shape, and the eye within that retains, gives shape, changes that which was but an aspect, one side of a figure, into an image that can stand by itself alone, or be cast as a completed part among others. And, in fact, Mr. Sansom's plastic story-telling alludes quietly to the mystery that is ingrained in the surfaces of people and things, and assigns to each a particular emanation, a particular color.

The well-balanced meticulousness necessary for this art is clearly at variance with much of modern short-story writing. Especially here in America we are accustomed either to the short story of a psychological nature, in which the main character is the only part finished with a degree of coherence (secondary elements lie about, sloppily finished) or to the short story as a mood, a fog which hangs over every part of the story, smudging all characteristics until a uniform greyness is achieved.

It is the genius of Mr. Sansom's art that all secondary elements, even the smallest details in a story, are minutely finished, and even where a mood prevails completely the characters retain a definite contour. But how skillfully

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lands **Msgr. Knox** back as chaplain to schoolgirls again, **THE GOSPEL IN SLOW MOTION** ($2.50) will be the last book made up of his sermons to schoolgirls. If you can imagine his **RETREAT FOR PRIESTS** ($2.50) made over for a much younger and less learned (but not less intelligent) group, you have a clue as to what it's like. The sermons *are* mostly on the Sunday Gospels, but **Msgr. Knox** is not one to be tied down by a title, so some of them are on Epistles, a few on Old Testament texts. There is a fairly widespread theory that this is the best of the "slow motion" books: if you have the other two you can judge for yourself. In case you are one of the few who never caught up with **Msgr. Knox's** notion of slow motion, they are **THE MASS IN SLOW MOTION** and **THE CREED IN SLOW MOTION.** Each costs $2.50.

VOCATION TO LOVE by **Dorothy Dohen** ($2.50) is the sort of plain lay spirituality we all need, and when we can get it, usually like. No matter what other vocation we may have, says the author, we all have a vocation to love God and our neighbor for His sake, and need to realize what this involves and that we are mostly rather bad at this kind of loving. This is the author's first book, though you may have seen articles by her in a number of Catholic magazines. She is young and American and we are rather proud of her.

If you have seen **THE MARY BOOK** ($4.00) which we advertised here a couple of weeks ago you will agree with us that it is indeed a large and lovely book. If you want something small and lovely for a change, **THE SAINTS IN PICTURES** will suit you excellently. There are four little books on four great saints: St. Anthony of Egypt, St. Jerome, St. Francis of Assisi and St. Catherine of Siena. Each has about 32 pages of text by **Maisie Ward** and thirteen reproductions of great pictures, four of them in full color. They are indeed enchanting little books, and their price is not the least pleasing thing about them—$1.00 each.

We keep wishing we hadn't read **Chesterton's THE COMMON MAN** ($3.00) so that we could do it now . . .

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this is done! In "Pastorale," for example, how harmonious is the interweaving of the wild Corsican landscape with the author's delicate questionings of the love that binds a young rich couple. The prose in which this and other stories are cast is rich and complicated, exact, nervous, revealing a solid culture beneath the benign irony which permeates all. If Mr. Sansom's clarity of vision had at any point emphasized details but a little more, the stories might have fallen into the anecdotal and the manneristic. As they stand, they are the finest of their type that this reviewer has read in many years. They are works of consummate art.

SERGE HUGHES.

The Face and Mind of Ireland. Arland Ussher. Devin-Adair. $2.75.

I HAVE no way of telling whether the bare majority of the population of the globe who don't happen to have an Irish grandmother really care about how the Irish got that way; I suspect not. The smaller but more important half who do possess a Grandmother Machree don't want to be told about Ireland and the Irish—they already know. So I often wonder just who buys books about Ireland. Last year Devin-Adair brought out Sean O'Faolain's *The Irish,* subtitled *A Character Study;* now we have *The Face and Mind of Ireland,* which might well be called a psychoanalysis.

It is significant that both books were originally written for English publishers. The English seem to have an inexhaustible anthropological curiosity about the Irish —the same kind of curiosity and baffled longing to imitate that seizes New England college girls when confronted by a Hopi Indian. In the end, of course, they too settle for a conducted tour of the Rain Dance run by a charming half-breed who speaks really beautiful English.

To call Mr. Ussher, whose family has been in Ireland for 900 years, an Anglo-Irishman might seem as preposterous as terming the late President Roosevelt a Dutch-American. None the less, he is still culturally a half-breed. As he says himself, "an Irish Protestant never quite knows to what country he belongs." The more so, as Ireland no longer belongs to him—a fact that Mr. Ussher has never quite gotten used to. Being myself an Anglo-Irishman whose ancestors lost most of their land almost as soon as they grabbed it, I was amused to find that the once concrete politico-economic program advocated by Mr. Ussher is the development of a new landed aristocracy—a new Rise of the House of Ussher, no doubt.

Also, I think it is not unfair to say that he regards twentieth-century Irish history as a chapter of accidents —instead of the fairly logical working-out of forces set in motion at least a century before. This is the characteristic attitude of all superseded ruling classes. They never know what hit them. Mr. Ussher can laugh at the Colonel Blimps who were horrified by the Irish "rebellion," but he understands it no better than they. The first half of his book—"The Retrospect," as he calls it—which purports to be a history of Ireland in this century, is therefore nonsense — though extremely amusing nonsense. Still, it makes an effective introduction to the equally amusing good sense of the second half—"The Aspect"—wherein he examines contemporary Ireland.

"Refusal, refusal—that is the key-word to the Irish character." Luckily for the Irishman, however, Mr. Ussher disapproves of a good many of the things the Irishman refuses. He regards "the two unchanging halves of the Irish mind: a fear and distrust of the Natural Man—especially the Mass-Man—and a disbelief in this solid-seeming law-driven material world" as "the two qualities of which humanity in this century has most need." Some of his less global observations are not less true, and certainly wittier. For instance: "The Irish, in modern times, have had no native upper caste except the priesthood, with the consequence that the typical Irishman is a little like a priest; since there are no such things in a Christian land as priestesses, the Irishwoman has remained a little more natural, a little closer to the earth."

VIVIAN MERCIER.

The Preacher and the Slave. Wallace Stegner. Houghton. $3.75.

THIS is the story of Joseph Hillstrom, better known to history as Joe Hill, a member of the IWW who, for a murder which he did or did not commit, was executed in Salt Lake City in 1915, after a great deal of agitation by the Wobblies and the intervention on Joe's behalf by President Wilson himself.

Joe Hill is a legend with militant labor. He was a legend even during his lifetime. Wallace Stegner, with extraordinary judgment and skill, reveals in the pages of this long novel the legend in the making. He gives us a revealing portrait of Joe Hill, who wrote the songs for the Wobblies, and who would have been better off had he contented himself with his song-making. But Joe, an extremely enigmatic character, who was a puzzle even to his fellows in the fighting labor organization, was not one to remain satisfied with words when there was fighting to be done.

The Wobblies, who preceded the Communists in the labor fighting line, differed from the Stalinites in this: they did not usually plan coldly and deliberately. They were honestly indignant at the injustices to the workers done by greedy bosses; as often as not their risings were spontaneous, as often as not they acted on impulse.

Joe Hill did not want to die; it is made clear that he might have gotten off if he had been willing to tell the truth, and named the woman who could have been his alibi. On the other hand, he had the martyr complex. He seemed to be fully aware that at this particular point his death was worth more to the cause than his continued

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life. More than once he frankly said "I want to die a martyr," and on one occasion he wrote, "I have lived like an artist; I shall die like an artist." Yet, with a contradiction supremely human, he made an effort to secure a new trial and made a scene immediately before his execution because his appeals fell on deaf official ears.

Mr. Stenger asserts that this "is not history, though it deals here and there with historical episodes and sometimes incorporates historical documents; and it is not biography, though it deals with a life. It is fiction, with fiction's prerogatives and none of history's limiting obligations." This reviewer, generally allergic to so-called "biographical fiction," finds this particular book a very satisfactory piece of work with very few of the faults usually associated with this literary genre.

JOHN COURNOS.

The Circle of the Minotaur. Stuart Hood. Viking. $2.50.

ONE OF the scenes in this short novel of stylized violence briefly pictures deserters and escaped prisoners of war scurrying quickly over the Italian hills and passing one another without a word. "From the fields the peasants watched them come and go and gathered the grapes in silence." This is the immemorial peasant response (when it can be afforded) to "politics and confusion," to war and killing.

The overriding silence of the soil, of peasant shrewdness, and of the wisdom of the loins, Mr. Hood seems to be telling us, is, if not the "answer" to the river of blood, at least one possible attitude toward it. The impact of silence is a technical device used with great virtuosity. Not only is there the forbidding Dantean silence of an inhospitable nature, but there is the "solitude of death," visited many times over as the narrative shuttles back and forth in time.

And there is one curiously effective device for a novel given over to violence: the film is cut, so to speak, between the hand's fingering of the trigger and the moment the victim lies prone. No shot is heard. A German sergeant-major is introduced hanging dead on the wire fence of a mine field; a few pages later he is described as he was when alive. The fact of his death is so overwhelming that the act itself is of no importance; it is never part of the action of the book.

The action has to do with Carlo Pacini and his need to break silence, to confess, (but not to "a priest with his old wife's shanks peeping beneath his cassock"). This it is that motivates the book. Fifteen years ago, the village legend ran, Carlo, then a mere boy, shot a man. The victim was promptly memorialized as a martyr for Fascism, and Carlo became a folk hero. Now, the wars in Spain, in France, and in Italy over, Carlo comes back to live again in his village. And to confess, after so much official killing, the ironical truth that he had not killed Leone Sbracci, that the "martyr for Fascism" died at the hands of frightened boys in a hunting accident. But the legend is too strong; too many people

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IS WORLD WAR III AVOIDABLE? by Waldemar Gurian, editor of the *Review of Politics* and author of "Bolshevism: Theory and Practice." Dr. Gurian weighs the pros and cons and indicates effective means of preventing such a disaster.

A POLITICS OF CONTEMPT, by Francis Downing, tells how John L. Lewis has decreed that Senator Taft will not be permitted in any coal mines and Ohio steelworkers have walked out on Taft's current campaign speeches. Mr. Downing views such reactions on the part of labor as ominous examples of the closed mind that makes totalitarian fodder.

WE HAVE PROBLEMS TOO, by Leo J. Trese, author of "Vessel of Clay," examines the remarkable French apostolate in the industrial slums and its application to conditions in the United States. "I was so sure, myself, that I was living in a land of plenty. Until just the other day . . . "

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are involved in its consequences. For one, Carlo's brother built his reputation as partisan on it. And Diego Sbracci's plan of vengeance (which has helped him to forget his canny cowardice in serving the Fascist cause) will not permit the legend to be denied. Betrayal, when it comes, is subtler than even Carlo had expected.

The Circle of the Minotaur achieves a complex relationship of atmosphere and event. Mr. Hood depicts mountains, the shadows in a village square, and the shapes of night with a knowing touch. But the whole does not add up, or rather it adds up to nothing more than an imprecise parable in an existentialist hell.

RILEY HUGHES.

Christ the Savior. Reginald Garrigou-Lagrange, O.P. Herder. $9. Reality. Reginald Garrigou-Lagrange, O.P. Herder. $6.

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• REVIEWERS •

N. S. TIMASHEFF teaches at Fordham. He is the author of *Three Worlds, The Law of Soviet Russia* and other political works.

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INDEX TO VOLUME LII

April 14, 1950 to October 6, 1950

Articles

		PAGE
A-Bomb: Moral or Not, The	Gordon C. Zahn	606
A-Bomb: Moral or Not, The A Reply	Francis J. Connell	607
Above Time, Beyond Place	Henri de Lubac	575
After Korea, What?	Waldemar Gurian	359
America in Europe	Lily Doblhoff	290
And Who Is My Neighbor?	George H. Dunne	623
Babbitt Revisited	Peter Viereck	551
Bernat Case, The	David C. Bayne	146
Bring Learning to Life	Leo R. Ward	123
Burden of Gold, The	Daniel-Rops	200
Catholics and Liberals (From a Catholic Viewpoint)	John C. Cort	242
Church and the Churches, The	Thomas Boyle	63
Church-State: Some Overlooked History	Harmon Ashley, Jr.	625
Conservative Replies, A	Peter Viereck	433
Constant Shadow, The	Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn	311
Corkery, Daniel	Vivian Mercier	98
Dialogue with the Sixth Century	Philip Burnham	130
Discussing Our Aims	Bonaventure Schwinn	19
Do DP's Want the Moon?	Claire Huchet Bishop	65
Drop or Two of Treason, A	Paul V. Farrell	583
East Looks to the West, The	Charles Malik	194
Forced Labor in Belgium	Boris Gourevitch	169
G.I. Meets the Koreans, A	Jerome Smiley	386
Haecker's Dark Journey	Neville Braybrooke	320
Half a Million Salesmen on the March	John P. Sisk	42
How Green This Valley	James O'Gara	560
Huckster's Reich, The	James Rorty	537
I Blame Cross-Filing	Harry W. Flannery	288
If You Love Me, Frown	Bernard Raymund	223
India and Pakistan	Jermoe D'Souza	263
Inside View, The	Vivian Mercier	415
Jimmy Roosevelt's Challenge	Harry W. Flannery	431
Kind of Miracle, A	Gunnar D. Kumlien	338
Knife, The	John A. Lynch	463
Labor and the Isms	Francis Downing	191
Liberals and Catholics (From a non-Catholic Viewpoint)	James Loeb, Jr.	239
Life in the Soviet Zone	Alfred Frisch	215
Lonely Shepherd	John Cogley	225
Machines and Men	Anthony Standen	512
"Maritain Was Wrong!"	Gabriel Fallon	175
Mark Hopkins, the Log and the Dollar	Willis D. Nutting	8
Martinet of Parliaments, The	Andrew Boyle	167
Mounier, Emmanuel	Helene Iswolsky	92
My Life as "Frank Hughes"	Milton Mayer	527
Myths, Neurotics, and Heroes	Geoffrey Stone	87
No Unemployment in Britain	Michael P. Fogarty	120
Peace, Peace, When There Is No Peace	Robert Barrat	455
President versus Congress	Edward Littlejohn	488
Prisoners from the East	Edward E. Swanstrom	335
Protestant Disabilities in Spain	Francis E. McMahon	177
Quebec Bishops and American Capital	Murray Ballantyne	39
Reaching the Poorest	M. R. Loew	479
Redeeming the Time	Anton C. Pegis	407
Report on ADA	William Pfaff	89
Restless Yankee, The	Mason Wade	392
Revolt Against Cotton	Clare E. Wolf	266
Rural Life Program, A	Donald McDonald	313
Sinner Who Looks Like a Saint, The	Gerald Vann	143
Soviet Foreign Policy	Waldemar Gurian	503
Strife at Strasbourg	Andrew Boyle	599
These Gentle Traitors	James O'Gara	48
This Time and Violence	Serge Hughes	438
Vanishing Negro Press, The	Roland E. Wolseley	577
Vestige of God, The	Milton Mayer	11
Why Britain Hesitates	Michael P. Fogarty	383
William-the-Whim	Joe Dever	72

From Abroad

Canada: Canadian Looks at "Look," A	Murray Ballantyne	388
England: Festival of Makers	Donald Attwater	268
Hundred Years After, A	Donald Attwater	602
Minor Vices, The	Donald Attwater	195
No More Crusades	Donald Attwater	554
On Being Innocent Abroad	Donald Attwater	67
Redbrick Universities, The	Donald Attwater	362
Victorian America	Donald Attwater	482
France: Holy Year, The	Robert Barrat	505
Neutral Europe, A	Robert Barrat	245
Politics Is the Devil's Part	Robert Barrat	147
Reaction to the Encyclical	Robert Barrat	628
School Question, The	Robert Barrat	340
Germany: Korean Shadows Over Europe	Clara Menck	410
Langgaesser, Elizabeth	Clara Menck	579
Postwar Theatre, The	Clara Menck	292
Surrealistic Hope and Fear	Clara Menck	124
"The Ami"—a Picasso Portrait	Clara Menck	218
South America: Chile's Social Unrest	Eduardo Frei	435
Dictatorships and Democracy	Eduardo Frei	315
Flow of Ideas, The	Eduardo Frei	531
Two Views of Capitalism	Eduardo Frei	171

Editorials

Failure of Anti-Communism, The	John Cogley	357
Keeping Left		286
Political Touchstone, A	Edward S. Skillin	118

The Labor Movement

Bankrupt's Oath	Francis Downing	555
Black and White and Red All Over	Francis Downing	601
Chrysler Settlement, The	Francis Downing	149
Dictatorship—and John L. Lewis	Francis Downing	364
Farmer-Labor Coalition	Francis Downing	411
Harry, Won't You Blow Your Horn?	Francis Downing	534
Hiring Halls and Taft-Hartley	Francis Downing	44

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PAGE

Long Engagement, A ..... Francis Downing 247
Morality and the Corporations ..... Francis Downing 507
Patriotic Anarchy ..... Francis Downing 483
Quill's Underground ..... Francis Downing 93
Stockholm and Detroit ..... Francis Downing 458
Strike Complex, The ..... Francis Downing 294
This Contagious Peace ..... Francis Downing 343
Who Invented Statism? ..... Francis Downing 389

Poems

Blood's Mystic, The ..... Jessica Powers 197
Waters of Light ..... Jessica Powers 197

Book Reviews

Abandoned, The: Paul Gallico ..... Joe Dever 610
Across the River and Into the Trees: Ernest Hemingway ..... Serge Hughes 585
Administration of American Foreign Affairs, The: James L. McCamy ..... Edward Littlejohn 565
Adolphe and the Red Note-Book: Benjamin Constant ..... Vivian Mercier 585
Age of Indiscretion, The: Clyde Brion Davis ..... John Cournos 230
American Mind, The: Henry Steele Commager ..... Richard M. Weaver 101
Angelic Shepherd: The Life of Pope Pius XII: Jan Olav Smit ..... Henry G. J. Beck 181
Assignment to Austerity: Herbert and Nancie Matthews ..... Anne Freemantle 322
Assyrian and Other Stories, The: William Saroyan ..... John C. Cort 182
Autobiography of Robert A. Millikan ..... Anthony Standen 253
Bavarian Story: Ethel Mannin ..... E.S.S. 326
Behind Closed Doors: Ellis M. Zacharias ..... John Cournos 470
Berdyaev, Nicholas: Captive of Freedom: Matthew Spinka ..... Helene Iswolsky 418
Beyond Defeat: Hans Werner Richter ..... Paul Farrell 442
Bitterweed Path, The: Thomas Hal Phillips ..... George Miles 374
Captain Sam Grant: Lloyd Lewis ..... Paul Kiniery 397
Cardinal, The: Henry Morton Robinson ..... John Cogley 26
Case of Comrade Tulayev, The: Victor Serge ..... Helene Iswolsky 564
Cast of Cold Eye: Mary McCarthy ..... George Miles 634
Changing Empire: Eric Estorick ..... Carol H. Weiss 421
Chekhov in My Life: Lydia Avilov ..... Vivian Mercier 415
Christ the Savior: Reginald Garrigou-Lagrange, O.P. 638
Circle of the Day, The: Helen Howe ..... Joan M. Rice 254
Circle of the Minotaur, The: Stuart Hood ..... Riley Hughes 637
Cocktail Party, The: T. S. Eliot ..... George Miles 106
Congress and Foreign Policy: Robert A. Dahl ..... Edward Littlejohn 488
Counter-Renaissance, The: Hiram Haydn ..... Max Fischer 493
Curtain Isn't Iron, The: Joseph C. Harsch ..... Joseph S. Roucek 276
Dark Stranger, The: Julian Gracq ..... George Miles 587
Dead Stay Young, The: Anna Seghers ..... Carol H. Weiss 440
Dominique: Eugene Fromentin ..... Vivian Mercier 585
Early Alpine Guides: Ronald Clark ..... Ernestine Evans 206
Editor to Author. The Letters of Maxwell E. Perkins. John Hall Wheelock, Editor ..... Donald Demarest 51
Eloquent Indian: John Bernard McGloin, S.J. ..... George H. Dunne, S.J. 157

PAGE

Encounter, The: Crawford Power ..... John Cogley 225
Face and Mind of Ireland, The: Arland Ussher ..... Vivian Mercier 636
Face of a Hero: Louis Falstein ..... Joe Dever 490
Famine of the Spirit: Dom Hubert van Zeller ..... Henry G. J. Beck 566
Feast, The: Margaret Kennedy ..... Carol H. Weiss 108
Flowers on the Grass: Monica Dickens ..... Edward S. Skillin 589
Fountain in Kentucky, A: John Frederick Nims ..... Anne Freemantle 370
Friar Felix at Large: H. F. M. Prescott ..... Theodore Maynard 132
From Cave Painting to Comic Strip: Lancelot Hogben ..... Wayne Andrews 228
From Versailles to the New Deal: Harold U. Faulkner ..... Ellen Logue 588
Generation on Trial, A: Alistair Cooke ..... Paul V. Farrell 583
George, Henry: Citizen of the World: Anna George de Mille ..... Emerson Hynes 612
Give Beauty Back: Francis X. Connolly ..... William Pfaff 277
Goals for American Education: Lyman Bryson, Louis Finkelstein and R. M. MacIver, Editors ..... Bonaventure Schwinn 19
Golden Girl, A: Harry Sylvester ..... Murray Ballantyne 74
Grand Alliance, The: Winston S. Churchill ..... Carol H. Weiss 226
Grant of Kingdom: Harvey Fergusson ..... E. S. S. 158
Great Books, The: A Christian Appraisal, Vol. II: Harold C. Gardiner, S.J., Editor ..... John T. Kilbridge 541
Green Huntsman, The: Stendahl ..... Serge Hughes 466
Guests of Don Lorenzo: Robert Pick ..... Leo J. Trese 205
Great Mantle, The: the Life of Pope Pius X: Katherine Burton ..... Henry G. J. Beck 181
Greater Trumps, The: Charles Williams ..... Leo J. Trese 104
High Valley: Charmian Clift and George Johnston ..... Anne Freemantle 445
History of Modern Painting, The (Volume II): Maurice Raynal and Others 278
Human Use of Human Beings, The: Norbert Wiener ..... Anthony Standen 512
I Chose Justice: Victor Kravchenko ..... Philip Burnham 299
If You Were Born in Russia: Arthur Goodfriend ..... Helene Iswolsky 155
Incredible Tale: Gerald W. Johnson ..... John Cournos 325
Irreverent Mr. Mencken, The: Edgar Kemler ..... John Hay 180
Jefferson and Madison: Adrienne Koch ..... Mason Wade 442
John Adams and the American Revolution: Catherine Drinker Bowen ..... Wayne Andrews 324
Journal in the Night: Theodor Haecker ..... Neville Braybrooke 320
Journey into the Self: Leo Stein ..... Vivian Mercier 415
Journey to the Missouri: Toshikazu Kase ..... Joseph S. Roucek 587
Joyce, James: His Way of Interpreting the Modern World: W. Y. Tindall ..... Vivian Mercier 204
Korea Today: George M. McCune, with Arthur L. Grey ..... Harold C. Hinton 419
Landscape Painting: Kenneth Clark ..... Anne Freemantle 251
Last Chance in Africa: Negley Farson ..... Max Fischer 229
Laurel: Alice Fellows 78
Lawrence, D. H.: Portrait of a Genius But . . .: Richard Aldington ..... John W. Meaney 516
Leaves from a Russian Diary: Pitirim A. Sorokin ..... Helene Iswolsky 252

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

		PAGE
Left Wing in Soviet Asia, The: Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff	Max Fischer	444
Legacy, The: Nevil Shute	Paul Farrell	301
Liberal Imagination, The: Lionel Trilling	John Hay	105
Life and Miracles of St. Benedict: St. Gregory the Great	Philip Burnham	130
Line on Ginger: Robin Maugham	W. P.	134
Lipton Story, The: Alec Waugh	E. V. R. Wyatt	132
Little World of Don Camillo, The: Giovanni Guareschi	Serge Hughes	540
Liturgical Prayer: Its History and Spirit: Fernand Cabrol, O.S.B.		614
Living God, The: Armand Pierhal	John M. Oesterreicher	350
Living Soil, The: E. B. Balfour	C. F. Marley	589
Local Color: Truman Capote	John Cogley	610
Long the Imperial Way: Hanama Tasaki	James O'Gara	540
Lost Traveller, The: Antonia White	Murray Ballantyne	109
Louisiana Gallery: Philip Kappel	David Burnham	202
Main Stream of Music and Other Essays, The: Donald Francis Tovey	Karl Stern	201
Margin, The: J. D. Scott	Carol H. Weiss	563
Marmion, Dom Columba: Raymund Thibaut		182
Marti: Apostle of Freedom: Jorge Manach	Edward S. Skillin	300
Medieval Literature in Translation: Charles W. Jones, Editor	Max Fischer	54
Melville, Herman: Newton Arvin	Mason Wade	492
Men Without Faces: Louis Francis Budenz Waldemar Gurian		348
Mexico. The Struggle for Peace and Bread: Frank Tannenbaum	James A. Magner	443
Moments of Light: Dom Hubert van Zeller	Henry G. J. Beck	566
Muhlenbergs of Pennsylvania, The: Paul A. W. Wallace	Wayne Andrews	324
My Philosophy: Benedetto Croce	Serge Hughes	75
Nazarene, The: Eugenio Zolli	John M. Oesterreicher	300
New Deal and World Affairs, The: Allan Nevins	Robert Hamilton Boyle	611
New Directions XI	Florence Codman	134
New Society, The: Peter Drucker	George G. Higgins	467
No Postponement: U. S. Moral Leadership and the Problem of Racial Minorities: John LaFarge, S.J.	John N. Popham	441
Notebooks of Malte Laurids Brigge: Rainer Maria Rilke	Vivian Mercier	585
Nothing: Henry Green	George Miles	203
Novel of Violence in America: 1920-1950, The: W. M. Frohock	Serge Hughes	438
Objector, The: Jeb Stuart	Paul Farrell	133
Old Man of the Mountain, The: Allan Seager	John Cournos	134
On Being Human: Ashley Montagu	Rudolf Allers	417
100 Modern Poems: Selden Rodman, Editor	Vivian Mercier	77
Out of My Later Years: Albert Einstein	Alan Devoe	276
Out of the Earth: Louis Bromfield	Edward S. Skillin	73
Paschal Mystery, The: Louis Bouyer, Orat.	John M. Oesterreicher	440
Permanence of Yeats, The: James Hall and Martha Steinmann, Editors	Vivian Mercier	204
Phoenix and Turtle: Thomas Gilby	Edward Littlejohn	298
Pole, Reginald: Cardinal of England: W. Schenk	Theodore Maynard	302
Poverty: Pie—Raymond Regamey, O.P.	Robert Hoyt	517
Preacher and the Slave, The: Wallace Stegner	John Cournos	636
Price of Union, The: Herbert Agar	Paul Kiniery	76
Proust, Portrait of a Genius: Andre Maurois	George Miles	298
Psychoanalyst and the Artist, The: Daniel E. Schneider	Rudolf Allers	300
Public Opinion in Soviet Russia: Alexis Inkeles	N. S. Timasheff	323
Pushkin: Henri Troyat	Carol H. Weiss	52
Quaker Service in Modern War: Howard E. Kershner		374
Quiet Light, The: Louis de Wohl	Theodore Maynard	493
Radio, Television, and Society: Charles A. Siepmann	James Rorty	537
Reality: Reginald Garrigou-Lagrange, O.P.		638
Religion and the Rise of Western Culture: Christopher Dawson	Philip Burnham	273
Rilke: Man and Poet: Nora Wydenbruck	Vivian Mercier	415
Rome: Portrait of the Eternal City: Herbert Bittner and Ernest Nash, Editors	Serge Hughes	157
Roosevelt in Retrospect: John Gunther	Edward S. Skillin	228
Russian Impact on Art: Mikhail Alpatov	Helene Iswolsky	466
Saint Francis of Assisi: Omer Englebert	D. H. Moseley	613
School for Wives, Robert, and Genevieve, The: Andre Gide	Leo J. Trese	22
Scottsboro Boy: Haywood Patterson and Earl Conrad	George H. Dunne	371
Secret: Michael Amrine	Francis X. Duggan	564
Secret Game, The: Francois Boyer	Clarie Huchet Bishop	562
Seeds of Treason: Ralph de Toledano and Victor Lasky	James O'Gara	48
Segment of My Times, A: Joseph M. Proskauer	Carol H. Weiss	274
seventy-one poems: e. e. cummings	Anne Freemantle	370
Shadow of a Cloud: Charley Robertson	William H. Slavick	517
Shady Cloister: Winifred Lear	Joan Rice	446
Shakespeare of London: Marchette Chute	G. B. Harrison	156
Simple Speaks His Mind: Langston Hughes	William Pfaff	181
Six Centuries of French Master Drawings in America: Regina Shoolman and Charles E. Slatkin	David Burnham	50
Son and Stranger: David Demarest Lloyd	E. V. R. Wyatt	302
South: William Sansom	Serge Hughes	635
Soviet Imperialism: Ernest Day Carman	Joseph S. Roucek	276
Soviet Politics: The Dilemma of Power: Barrington Moore, Jr.	N. S. Timasheff	634
Spanish Gardener, The: A. J. Cronin	Joan Rice	540
Specter of Alexander Wolf, The: Gaito Gazdanov	George Miles	50
Spirituality of Saint Therese: Andre Combes	D. H. Moseley	542
St. Benedict: T. F. Lindsay		590
Steeltown: Charles R. Walker	James O'Gara	560
Story of Ernie Pyle, The: Lee G. Miller	Harry W. Flannery	539
Strike Through the Mask: Peter Viereck	Anne Freemantle	370
Summer in Italy, A: Sean O'Faolain	Serge Hughes	180
Table Near the Band, A: A. A. Milne	George Miles	516

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PAGE

Third Man, The: Graham Greene ..... John Cournos 182
Thousand Deaths of Mr. Small, The: Gerald Kersh ..... Carol H. Weiss 608
Too Little Love: Robert Henriques ..... Joan Rice 349
Treasury of American Homes: Richard Pratt ..... Wayne Andrews 228
Twin Adventures, The: William Saroyan ..... Joe Dever 72
Two Adolescents: Alberto Moravia ..... John Cogley 395
Two Lovely Beasts, and Other Stories: Liam O'Flaherty ... Kelly Cook 418
Union with God: Abbot Marmion, O.S.B. 182
United States and Japan, The: Edwin O. Reischauer ..... Max Fischer 396
Verdict of Three Decades: Julien Steinberg, Editor ..... Ralph de Toledano 514
Voyage to Lourdes, The: Alexis Carrel ..... Leo J. Trese 131
Wager and Other Stories, The: Daniel Corkery ..... Vivian Mercier 98
Welcome to the Castle: Alfred Hayes ..... Anne Fremantle 370
Wintertime: Jan Valtin ..... Max Fischer 156
Woman of Means, A: Peter Taylor ..... George Miles 275
Works of God, The: Giuseppi Berto ..... Serge Hughes 251
World Enough and Time: Robert Penn Warren ..... Leo J. Trese 373
Yankee Exodus, The: Stewart H. Holbrook ..... Mason Wade 392

The Stage

Daphne Laureola 630
Freight 152
Live Wire, The 510
Peter Pan 127
Phoenix Too Frequent, A 152
Season's Odds and an End 152
Tickets, Please! 152
Wisteria Trees, The 69

The Screen

Annie Get Your Gun 198
Asphalt Jungle, The 249
Barricade 46
Beaver Valley 437
Big Lift, The 98
Bitter Rice 632
Black Rose, The 581
Broken Arrow 413
Buccaneer's Girl 46
Caged 221
Capture, The 221
Champagne for Caesar 172
Cheaper by the Dozen 17
City Lights 15
Colt .45 151
Comanche Territory 46
Conspirator 127
Crisis 346
Damned Don't Cry, The 127
D.O.A. 45
Deadly Is the Female 46
Destination Moon 367

PAGE

Difficult Years 559
Edge of Doom 532
Fancy Pants 605
Father of the Bride 173
Flame and the [illegible]w, The 392
Furies, The 510
Glass Menagerie, The 631
Guilty Bystander 46
Gunfighter, The 346
Happy Years, The 437
Heart and Soul 296
Holy Year, 1950 486
In a Lonely Place 221
Iroquois Trail, The 46
Jackie Robinson Story, The 198
Johnny Holiday 198
Kind Hearts and Coronets 296
Kiss Tomorrow Goodbye 461
Lawless, The 318
Louisa 604
Madeleine 559
Men, The 414
My Blue Heaven 605
My Widow and I 558
Mystery Street 581
Next Voice You Hear, The ..... 29[illegible]
Night and the City ..... 24[illegible]
No Man of Her Own ..... 12[illegible]
No Sad Songs for Me ..... 9[illegible]
No Way Out ..... 4[illegible]
One Way Street ..... 12[illegible]
Original Sin, The 510
Our Very Own 436
Panic in the Streets 460
Paris Waltz, The ..... 55[illegible]
Peggy 437
Petty Girl, The ..... 5[illegible]
Pretty Baby ..... 60[illegible]
Quicksand 392
Reformer and the Redhead, The 17
Riding High 70
Rocketship X M 367
Rocking Horse Winner, The ..... 27[illegible]
Run for Your Money, A ..... 7[illegible]
Secret Fury, The ..... 36[illegible]
Secrets of Nature ..... 8[illegible]
711 Ocean Drive ..... 39[illegible]
Shadow on the Wall 45
Sleeping City, The ..... 8[illegible]
Stella ..... 60[illegible]
Summer Stock 605
Sundowners, The ..... 15[illegible]
Sunset Boulevard ..... [illegible]
Tea for Two ..... 6[illegible]
Three Little Words 533
Ticket to Tomahawk, A 152
Treasure Island ..... 43[illegible]
Union Station 632
Wagonmaster 151
Where the Sidewalk Ends 368
White Tower, The 345
Winchester '73 248
Winslow Boy, The 271
Yellow Cab Man, The 17

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